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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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# GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE:

# GREECE

## Description

A description of the structure, functions, and activities of German military government in Greece, 1941-44.

1 December 1944



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This study is Part Three, Section One, III, of the series

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

the outline of which is as follows:

Part One. Principles and Methods of German Military Government over Europe

Part Two. German Controls in Occupied Europe

I. The German Army in Occupied Europe
II. The SS and Police in Occupied Europe
III. Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Europe
IV. The Nazi Party in Occupied Europe
V. Technical and Economic Troops in Occupied Europe
VI. Economic and Financial Controls in Occupied Europe
VII. Labor Controls in Occupied Europe
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I. Belgium
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I. The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia
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# III. GREECE

## A. INTRODUCTION

The German invasion of Greece began on 6 April 1941. By 1 June, when the British withdrew from Crete, all Greece was in their possession. Meanwhile, on 21 April 1941, before the capitulation of the Greeks, the Bulgarians entered Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace. The Italians were not permitted to send occupying troops into Greece until 25 June 1941.

### 1. Zones of Occupation

Until the capitulation of Italy in September 1943 the zones of occupation were as follows:

#### a. Bulgarian Zone

The Bulgarians held Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia, from the Bulgarian frontier to the Aegean, and from the Struma River on the west to a line beginning slightly west of Adrianople and ending at Maistros, slightly to the east of Alexandroupolis. This line passed through the villages of Ftelia, Zoni, and Kotronia. The Bulgars also occupied the islands of Thasos and Samothrace.

#### b. German Zone

The Germans retained (1) the remainder of Evros, between the line mentioned above and the Turkish frontier; (2) Greek Macedonia, between the Struma and a line beginning at the Thermaic Gulf, following the Aliakmon, and then running northwest, passing north of Kozani and Kastoria, to the Albanian frontier; (3) an area around Athens, including Piraeus and the adjacent islands; (4) the islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Khios, and Crete (except Lassithion province).

#### c. Italian Zone

The Italians occupied the remainder of the mainland and islands but exercised only the slight control the Germans

allowed them. The Germans themselves retained direct control over all key points. After the capitulation of Italy in September 1943 the Germans succeeded to the regions which the Italians had held.

2. Bulgarian and Italian Occupation Policies

The Bulgarian-occupied zone and the Ionian Islands were virtually annexed by Bulgaria and Italy respectively, though no formal statement of annexation was made. The Italians also announced their intention of annexing Epirus to Albania.

3. Effects of the Italian Surrender

The German organization of the military occupation of Greece remained relatively constant until evacuation started late in 1944. Even the Italian capitulation had little effect on this organization, for, though the greater part of the area of Greece had been delegated to the Italians, the Germans retained surveillance over coasts, railways, and airfields in the Italian zone, and the existing German administration was easily able to extend its control over that zone. Immediately following the Italian Armistice in September 1943 General Speidel, German Military Governor of Greece, assumed all authority formerly held by the Italian Commander in Greece. The German authorities decreed that all Italian laws should be maintained, with the exception of those relating to strikes, which would henceforth be regarded as acts of sabotage. On 10 September the German authorities issued a decree demanding the immediate restitution to themselves, on pain of death, of all goods and material which Italians had sold on the two preceding days. On the same date the Germans began to disarm all Italian forces and to seize all war material, motor transport, stores, etc., belonging to the Italians. After the formation

of the Rebublican Fascist Party the Germans requested the registration of all Italians who wished to follow Mussolini; the death penalty was decreed for any unregistered Italian arrested after a fixed time limit. Greeks were arrested on the charge that they had collaborated with the Italians.

In October 1943 the Germans took over the functions previously performed by the Italian Carabinieri in Athens. Generalmajor Stroop, chief of the SS Police, came to Athens and received jurisdiction over the Greek police, firemen, gendarmerie, and the Rallis Security Battalions. The Germans assumed responsibility for maintaining order throughout Greece.

In Greek localities where Italian civilian authorities were located (Epirus and the Ionian and Aegean Islands), they were replaced by Germans, not by Greek officials appointed by the quisling Greek Government. The prefects, mayors, directors of police, and other senior staff members were German, while their subordinates were Greeks. The same policy was followed in Salonika.

B. THE ORGANS OF GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT

In principle, the Germans permitted the civil organization of Greece to continue. Fulfillment of their own wishes was secured by communication with the Minister of Interior of the Greek quisling government, 1/ who had authority over provincial prefects; local Greek magistrates of various grades followed orders in their customary chain of authority.

Local German military authorities, in law as in practice, held precedence over Greek civil authorities and could effect alterations in the decrees of the central government or procure new regulations by direct communication with the local authorities. The situation of the police was characteristic. They continued to function in theory, but actually they were impotent because persons they arrested could be summarily released by the Germans, and the Germans could themselves make arrests without reference to the police.

1. Military Organs

a. The German Army

(1) Territorial Organization

German military government in Greece was carried on under the jurisdiction of the German Army Group F, formed in the summer of 1943 with headquarters at Belgrade, which controlled all operational and occupational forces in Southeast Europe. Generalfeldmarschall Maximilian Freiherr von Weichs was Commander in Chief, and Generalleutnant Hermann Förtsch was Chief of Staff.

Subordinate to Army Group F, and controlling all German units in Greece and the Aegean, was Army Group E, with headquarters in Salonika. Generaloberst Alexander Loehr

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1/ See "The Quisling Regimes," C 1.

(Air Force) was Commander in Chief of this Army Group.

The areas of Greece under direct German military administration were grouped into three Commands, each under a general officer, as follows:

(a) Salonika-Aegean Command. This Command, with headquarters at Salonika, included all the German-administered territory in Northern Greece and the islands of the Aegean, with the exception of Crete and the islands of the Saronic Gulf.

(b) Southern Greece Command. This Command had headquarters at Athens and included the remainder of mainland Greece, the Ionian Islands, and Aigina and Salamis. It is uncertain whether or at what period the Peloponnese may have instituted a Separate Command.

(c) Fortress Crete Command. Headquarters were at Canea. Under these Commands, in descending order, were Field Commands (Feldkommandanturen), District Commands (Kreiskommandanturen), and Local Commands (Ortskommandanturen).

(2) Functional Organization

The German Army staff organization in occupied countries normally fell into two clear-cut divisions, command staff and administrative staff. These divisions corresponded to a division of functions between regular military duties on the one hand and regulation of civil affairs on the other. While available information on the situation in Greece is not definitive, the following break-down of the administrative sections of the Staff of the Fortress Crete Command (which may have been typical) appears to place civil affairs within the series of military functions rather than separate from them. This break-down is based on a military telephone directory for Canea, Crete dated about March 1944.

(a) Section Ic. This section was in charge of

a major, with a captain second in command. Under this Section are listed: i. Abwehr (apparently a special counter-espionage officer for the Section); ii. Presse (Press); iii. Wehrbetreuung (for military morale); iv. Kartenstelle (registry and card index office); v. Ic PI, (for propaganda), followed by Prop. Zug (propaganda troops).

(b) Abwehroffizier Kreta. This officer was apparently in charge of secret military police, which would be concerned with recalcitrant natives as well as with the enemy.

(c) Section III, Military Justice. This was composed of two Kriegsgerichtsräte (court martial counselors), a Kanzlei Unteroffizier (chancellery non-commissioned officer), and two Justizinspektoren (justice inspectors). This group was in charge of enforcement of German military law on the subject population as well as in the German Army.

(d) Wirtschaftsgruppe. An economic section concerned with equipment, provisioning, and payment, it was headed by an Amtsrat (office counselor), and had two Inspektoren -- one over the Amtsgruppe Lehrstelle (apprentice office), and the other over Unterkunft (billeting and clothing). Next are listed sections for Gebührnisse (pay), Büromaterialen (office supplies), Verpflegung (rations), Geräte- und Bekleidungslager (warehouse for equipment and clothing), and Imstandsetzungswerkstatt (repair shop).

(e) Gruppe Innere Verwaltung. This internal administration section was of great importance for military government. It was under an Oberkriegsverwaltungsrat (chief war administration counselor). Two other Kriegsverwaltungsräte were also listed, the second being in charge of labor procurement (Arbeitseinsatz) from the native population. Next in order were a Regierungsassessor,

a government assessor in charge of agriculture; two inspectors; a Kunstschutz, office for the preservation of art objects; two Sonderführer, special leaders with unspecified duties; an interpreter; and a Vermittlung Kreiskommandantur, for liaison with the District Command.

The distribution of German personnel for various services in a harbor town of some importance is shown in a report from Volos dated July 1944. The 8th Panzer Grenadier Regiment, 1,726 strong, was located at Volos. Special services included the following: aeronautical base, 74 men; naval base, 58; sanitation service, 80; garrison of railway station, 30; security service, 12; police, 10; Todt Organization, 90; provost marshall's office, 35; harbor command, 45. Such services as security, sanitation, and Todt Organization naturally employed a number of native workers.

b. The German Navy

Because of Greece's long coast line, numerous islands, and dependence on sea-borne traffic, the German Navy played a part -- though greatly subordinate to the Army's -- in the administration of the country. Administrative duties of the Navy included supervision and control of Greek shipping, harbors, and shipyards. These functions did not form a part of the system of German military government as such, but were concerned rather with the protection of certain special interests involved in the operational needs of the German Navy.

The commanding officer was the Admiral of the Aegean, with headquarters at the Greek Ministry of Marine. Subordinate Naval Commands apparently corresponded more or less to the District Commands of the Army. At Salonika there were the following: (1) a Kommandant der Seeverteidigung (Commander of Maritime Defense), with authority over Northern Greece and the islands; (2) a Küstenüberwachungsstelle (coastal supervision

service), part of whose duties was control of traffic in Salonika harbor and its approaches; (3) a Schiffbau and a Hafenbau, for ship and harbor construction respectively; and (4) a Seetransportstelle or office of maritime transport, located in the same building as the German port commander.

It is not known whether the Attica Naval Command had independent authority over the naval services at Piraeus and Salamis, or whether these were administered directly by the Admiral of the Aegean. Ship movements in Piraeus harbor were supervised by the Seetransporthauptstelle under a Korvettenkapitan; the German harbor master, and also a Korvettenkapitan, controlled the requisitioning of Greek lighters, tugs, and water tankers. The two permanent dry-docks were controlled by the German technical staff of the Port of Piraeus. A German prize court for dealing with seized Greek vessels was set up at Piraeus early in the war.

At Canea, the headquarters of the Army's Fortress Crete Command, there was a Kommandant der Seeverteidigung, a sea captain. His establishment included a Marine Hafenbauabteilung Chania, for harbor construction; a Hafenkapitan, or harbor master; a Marine Propaganda Kompanie; and a Seetransportstelle, or maritime transport office.

Local naval commanders, as in many of the islands, were harbor masters or port officers.

2. Other Organs

a. The Diplomatic Service

Early in the occupation the German diplomatic service had some importance, chiefly as liaison between the German Army and the Greek quisling government. There was a German diplomatic representative in Greece, Altenburg. This representative had military, naval, press, and propaganda attachés on his staff, and there were German consuls in all principal cities. Policy, however, was formulated by the Army,

and the diplomatic staffs only served to carry out their wishes when it was convenient for them to do so. On important questions the Army High Command communicated directly with the quisling Prime Minister.

A special position was occupied by Dr. Hermann Neubacher, the German Foreign Office's special representative for Southeastern Europe, who became the Special Commissioner of the Reich for Economic and Financial Problems in January 1943. Following the recall of the German Minister, Altenburg, in November 1943, his office was amalgamated with the Neubacher office. The Athens office of the special representative (Neubacher) was directed by the permanent Chargé d'Affaires, Dr. von Grävenitz, who had previously served as Counselor of Legation.

b. The Nazi Party

The Nazi Party as such had little importance in Greece, for there was no German racial minority and the Party regarded Greeks as racial inferiors not suitable for Party membership. The Party was concerned with German civilians; it took the form of Landesgruppe units of the Auslandsorganisation, and (in Athens) a unit of the Auslandsdeutsche Frauenschaft. These, however, were not organs of military government in any formal sense. The SS organization was well represented and active in Greece, reinforcing the Gestapo and administering anti-Semitic regulations.

c. The SS and Police

The German police in Greece comprised Army units, ordinary police units, and SS units.

(1) Army Units

(a) The Geheime Feldpolizei (GFP). The Secret Field Police was an important agency of German military government in Greece. It was especially concerned with

security, was responsible for much of the repression and terrorization, and employed a large number of Greek agents.

(b) The Feldgendarmerie. The ordinary military police were also used to control the population, though their role was less important than that of the GFP.

(2) The Security Police

The Gestapo, which, together with the Criminal Police, forms the German Security Police, was reported in every part of Greece, including the Bulgarian-occupied area. It is apparent, however, that the term was used loosely to denote any kind of German security service.

(3) The Security Service of the Reich Leader SS (Sicherheitsdienst)

Intelligence and counter-espionage services, presumably to be identified with the SS Security Service, were used to detect and prevent espionage and sabotage by the enemy or by clandestine organizations and other dissident elements in the Greek population. These services had offices in Salonika and Athens and employed a number of Greeks as well as Greek-speaking Germans.

C. GERMAN USE OF NATIVE ORGANS

1. The Quisling Regimes

Immediately upon occupation the Germans proceeded to set up a quisling government. General Tsolakoglou, the man responsible for the signing of the armistice, was selected to form the quisling cabinet. Indeed almost the whole cabinet, whose membership was announced early in May 1941, was made up of those general officers who had supported the armistice.

The two cabinet ministers who became most prominent, however, were not military men. They were Professor Logothetopoulos, a noted obstetrician, who had been appointed rector of the University of Athens under Metaxas and was notoriously pro-German, and Gotsamanis, descendant of a Bulgarian-speaking family from the village of Goumenissa near the Serbian border, appointed because of his pro-Axis sympathies as Minister of Finance.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not filled, in order to avoid the difficulties a puppet government might have in foreign relations. A German Controller and an Italian Controller were placed in the Ministries of Finance and National Economy.

The distress in Athens caused by famine and by the cruelties of the Axis produced such great discontent that a reshuffle of the Tsolakoglou government took place in April 1942. The chief change was an increase in the importance and influence of Gotsamanis in quisling politics and the appearance as his assistant of Hector Tsironikos, who was to become the most notorious quisling in Greece. Discontent was aggravated by an increase in the occupation charges in September 1942. On 18 November 1942, as a result of differences involving the occupation authorities, the Italian favorite Gotsamanis, and himself, Tsolakoglou resigned

and handed the government over to Logothetopoulos.

Early in 1943, the Government gave way to German demands for laborers. The text of a decree for general civil mobilization became widely known, although it was never published. Successful protest strikes and demonstrations against the threat of this mobilization in the Athens-Piraeus area forced the Government to issue an assurance that civil mobilization would not be imposed. What little popularity Logothetopoulos had was dissipated when he dismissed the presidents of the Chamber of Commerce of both Piraeus and Athens and the Chief Justice and deposed the deans of the University of Athens and the Athens Technical School for a period of three months, all on a charge of making statements harmful to the Government. The Reich representatives became annoyed with him also and he was allowed to resign.

John Rallis formed a new cabinet on 7 April 1943. Tsironikos (as Minister of Finance) and Tavoularis were the only ministers retained. Tsironikos was supported by Neubacher and subsequently assumed other ministries, including the vice-premiership. Rallis was able to retain the premiership until the German withdrawal from Greece despite SS efforts to displace him.

In order to conciliate labor Neubacher arranged the appointment of Nikolaos Kalyvas, secretary general of the Greek labor organizations, as Minister of Labor in Rallis' Cabinet (2 December 1943). Kalyvas was later assassinated.

2. Provincial Administration

Broad discretionary powers over administration in Greece's thirty-nine departments or provinces were vested in the commanders of the local occupying forces. Although information is not available in equal detail for all parts of Greece, the situations obtaining in Macedonia, in Crete,

and in territories originally occupied by the Italians may be regarded as typical.

a. Macedonia

The Germans issued a statement to all civil officials that beginning on 7 July 1943 Macedonia would be a German protectorate, and they assumed entire responsibility for the maintenance of internal order. All civil authorities -- even the courts -- depended on the German Command of Salonika, and the gendarmerie, after a purge in the month of June, were placed under the control of the German police. Beginning in the summer of 1943 the Germans appointed German prefects in the provinces of Evros, Struma, Chalcidice, Khilkis, and Edessa, a German governor of Mount Athos, and German sub-prefects at Arnaea, Langada, and Goumenissa; it was reported that they intended to make similar appointments at all prefectures and sub-prefectures. The former Greek prefects and sub-prefects remained as advisers to their German successors, but they were gradually discarded and were not consulted after the Germans became accustomed to the work. The former Greek Governor General of Macedonia at Salonika was no longer able to communicate by telephone with Athens, or with his subordinates in Macedonia, without first obtaining permission from the Germans. The latter had militarized the whole internal government service when the "German Administrative Region of Macedonia" was abolished and the Oberfeldkommandantur 385 was established in its place on 4 October 1943.

b. Crete

In Fortress Crete the office of Governor General was in abeyance until September 1941, when Emmanuel Loulakakis was appointed. He was replaced, at the request of the Germans in January 1943, by Ioannis Passadakis, who was sufficiently subservient to the conquerors to retain his

post. The German Embassy, expressing the feelings of the German authorities in Crete, had sent a note to the Government saying that present events made necessary a Governor General in Crete of "absolute political loyalty."

c. Territories Originally Occupied by the Italians

(1) The Ionian Islands

The Ionian Islands were placed under the administration of an Italian civil governor as soon as the Germans admitted the Italians into Greece. These islands were declared by the Italians to constitute the Ionian State, and they had their own currency and postal system. After the Italian surrender in September 1943, the Germans occupied these islands and returned them to the general administration of Greece.

(2) Epirus

The Italians apparently had intended to annex Epirus to Albania, but they seem to have failed in their purpose, and after July 1942 Epirus was treated like other occupied regions of Greece. After the Italian surrender the Germans had little success in maintaining control over this region because of intense guerrilla activities.

(3) The Aegean Islands

The islands of Samos and Ikaria were placed under an Italian civil governor, since the Italians obviously intended to add the rich island of Samos to their possessions in the Dodecanese. After their momentary liberation subsequent to the Italian surrender, these islands were occupied by the Germans, who established Andreas Negris as prefect under orders from a German military governor. The treatment of other Aegean islands was much the same. The Germans appointed men whom they trusted to the various civil administrative posts, under the control of the German military Kommandanturen.

3. Police

The Germans allowed the Greek police to continue, limiting their cartridges to five and demanding a report for each one expended. The occupation authorities themselves supervised such matters as travel and identity documents, leaving only routine trivialities to the Greeks. The openly contemptuous attitude of the Germans toward the Greek police, who were forced to make arrests or release their own prisoners at the whim of the occupants, served to underscore their impotence.

As a result of the arrests following the demonstrations of 23 July 1943, Rallis protested that if measures were not taken to calm public opinion, the Government would be powerless to maintain order and safety. The Commander of the German Forces of Occupation in Attica replied that from that time on the Germans took charge of order and safety throughout the whole territory. A communiqué was handed to the Athenian press announcing that all police forces, whether Greek or Italian, were under the orders of the German police, who would maintain order in the country. Early in October Generalmajor Stroop of the SS arrived in Athens, summoned the chiefs of police and gendarmerie, and told them that both forces would henceforth be under his command. His authority was later extended to include all of Greece. The Greek Government is said to have protested to the German military and political authorities, but without avail.

The most important measure of the Germans in their effort to control the populace was the formation of the Greek Security Battalions. Their avowed purpose was to combat communists, but in the German usage "communist" was applied to any guerrilla resistance. The formation of Security Battalions is said to have been originally proposed by General Pangalos, but it was Prime Minister Rallis who

actually succeeded in getting the Germans to form battalions, totalling 2,400 men. The Germans armed and used these quisling troops in combination with German soldiers in their campaigns against the EAM-ELAS resistance organization, and found them so successful that they encouraged increased recruitment. Ultimately these battalions totalled more than ten thousand on the mainland of Greece and in Euboea. In their final form each Security Battalion had one NCO and five enlisted men of the German Schutzpolizei attached to it. These were withdrawn when the Germans, on their withdrawal from the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece, turned over to the Security Battalions the task of maintaining order.

D. COURTS MARTIAL, PRISONS, AND SECURITY REGULATIONS

1. Courts Martial

References to courts martial derive from many places, but chiefly Salonika, Athens, and Canea. The islands were served by a circuit court that moved from island to island. Occasionally special commissions were set up to deal with special offenses, as for example the killing of German parachutists in Crete. Two courts sat in Athens, one for those arrested by the SS, and another for those arrested by the Geheime Feldpolizei; of these the first was reputed to be even more severe than the second.

Ordinarily three German officer judges sat for a German court martial. The presiding judge was a legal expert. The prosecuting attorney was a German officer. German-speaking Greek lawyers, taken from an approved list, were allowed to assist Greek prisoners in their defense.

The collaborationist Greek regime maintained its own system of courts martial. In May 1943 the quisling government established special military courts in Salonika, Athens, and Patras, specifically for crimes against the state and the social order, their primary task being to combat communism. Procedure before these courts was said to be a parody of justice; there was no chance of a fair trial, and the Government found it difficult to persuade Greek officers to act as judges.

According to the German Command all offenses affecting the occupation troops "directly or indirectly" were to be tried by German military courts. "Indirect" offenses, however, were construed to include purely civil misdemeanors, such as profiteering or disputes between employers and labor. The death sentence or life imprisonment was imposed for assisting the enemy (i.e., the English) in any way, however trivial. That the Germans were not slow to carry

out threatened executions is revealed by their official report of more than four thousand executed in Greece during the period of occupation. This figure does not include the vastly greater number killed in reprisals on the Greek villages.

Violators of any of the regulations regarding the blackout, or other phases of civilian air defense, were liable to court martial. The Greek gendarmerie, who apparently were often lax in handing over their fellow citizens to the German courts martial or presumptuous in releasing Greeks arrested by the German military police, were repeatedly threatened in official German orders with court martial.

In general the Italians were much more lenient in their courts martial than the Germans. They avoided executions except in the case of resistance and shooting Italian troops. A group of Greeks caught trying to escape in a caique were caught and tried before an Italian court; they were sentenced to one year in prison, whereas the penalty imposed by the Germans was death. After the surrender of the Italians to the Allies, however, the German Military Commander in Greece, in an effort to make a show of relaxing the hardships of occupation, announced on 22 September 1943 that many of the imprisoned Greeks had been unjustly sentenced by Italian military courts: "Justice being the highest principle of the German Armed Forces, the suspension of all such prosecutions has been decreed, the first measure being the release of 370 prisoners under Italian arrest. Further releases are to follow." The Germans also intervened occasionally to halt the persecutions of the Greeks by the Bulgarians.

The Germans were frequently accused of interfering with the course of justice in the Greek courts by demanding the acquittal of their collaborators who were brought to

trial for crimes within the competence of the Greek courts. A Greek refugee lawyer also complained that it was impossible to determine what law applied to certain cases, because at German instigation the quisling Greek government by May 1944 had passed more than 4,500 new laws. It is unlikely, however, that the Germans were responsible for all of these new laws.

2. Prisons

With the great number of arrests made by the occupying authorities, it was necessary to supplement the existing prisons by establishing concentration camps at various points all over the country. The concentration camps most frequently mentioned are those at Khaidari near Athens, the Pavlos Melas near Salonika, and those at Thebes and Levadia. Various buildings in the important cities were requisitioned as temporary prisons. As early as 16 November 1942 it was estimated that 250,000 were held in confinement, but the number is probably exaggerated.

All descriptions of prisons and concentration camps in Greece during the Axis occupation picture appalling conditions. In the Averoff Prison in Athens we are told that thirteen prisoners were squeezed into a cell built for one, and that dirt, lice, and bugs abounded. A report dated 16 August 1944 states that the Salonika concentration camp held twenty thousand individuals.

Torture (often to death) during interrogations in the prisons and concentration camps is stated to have been the rule whenever the charge was at all serious. Simple field methods of torture were usually alleged -- tearing off fingernails one by one and gouging of eyes seem to have been the most common. The Greek authorities undertook to supply food to all the prisons, and the inevitable abuses, which formed the subject of endless complaints, were

therefore ignored by the Axis authorities. Summary penalties, as are permitted by German law, were often exacted by German officers without the formality of a court martial.

3. Security Regulations

a. Registrations, Permits, and Licenses

(1) Identity Cards

The system of identity cards required by the Germans was merely an elaboration of that in force at the time of their conquest. In many parts of Greece new identity cards seem to have been demanded in October 1941. After the Italian surrender the Germans announced that all identity cards, licenses, passes, etc., issued by the Italians were invalid and that new papers would be required of all men and women over fourteen years of age in all of Greece and the Greek islands. The Germans, however, did not at that time concern themselves with the issue of these identity cards, which were secured from the Greek police or gendarmerie.

A new issue of identity cards was introduced on 1 January 1944. The new cards were identical in size and wording with the old ones, except that they were triptych, instead of diptych, in form; and on page 3 the particulars were also printed in German to enable German control officials to read them.

Sailors were required to have special identity cards. These were issued by the harbor control authorities and were carefully checked to prevent their use by persons seeking to escape from Greece. Workmen in areas under military control, such as the harbor area at Piraeus, were issued special identity cards. In certain regions special papers were issued to Greeks working for the Germans or engaged in essential government services; these served to protect the holders from impressment into forced labor on

the roads, etc. Writers and others whose professions required them to be out after the hour of curfew also received special identity cards. The registers of foreigners resident in Greece prior to the German occupation were destroyed at the time of the German invasion. Foreigners who had arrived in Greece before a certain year (1923 or 1925) were required to identify themselves by means of a combined identity card and labor permit; those foreigners who had arrived subsequently had to have an alien's temporary permit of residence.

Greek officers were considered a particular menace and special efforts were made to prevent them joining the guerrillas in the mountains or the forces in the Middle East. Permits for movement between the capital and the provinces were issued only after delays and severe examinations, and finally not at all. The Germans obtained lists of Greek officers, active and reserve, and periodic scrutinies were carried out.

The favorite method for checking on identity documents was the use of snap controls carried out on streets of various towns.

(2) Household Registrations

To check espionage and underground activity the occupation authorities required registration of each household and its component individuals. Registers providing details of all persons living in a house had to be posted outside each house in certain regions, especially Evros and certain islands.

(3) Travel Permits

Ordinarily travel within a province was unrestricted, but travel from one province to another or abroad required a permit. During periods of stress temporary restrictions were freely imposed, and at best permissions were granted only after a lapse of months, and reservations were difficult

to obtain. Movement between the islands was especially restricted, because the islands were the route by which materials and men were smuggled in and out of Greece. On certain islands two bondsmen had to vouch for a prospective traveler, and were liable to the death penalty if the traveler went to Turkey, which was forbidden.

Guerrilla activity often brought special restrictions. No one could go in or out of towns against which operations were being carried on.

Restrictions on travel within Greece were removed in August 1943, but were restored after the Italian surrender. In January 1944 restrictions in the Peloponnese were removed, but again imposed when the Peloponnese was declared a zone of operations. In April 1944 permits were not required for travel from Athens in Attica or Boeotia, but were required beyond these prefectures.

During periods when circulation between towns was forbidden or restricted there were control posts at the edge of each town on the principal roads leading from it. Railroad ticket offices also served as control points for identity cards, travel permits, etc. Control posts were frequently located in towns through which railroads passed, and SS police sometimes checked identity cards on board trains.

Control of motor vehicles was in the hands of the Germans or supervised by them. Use of cars was restricted by many regulations involving time, purpose, and fuel consumption; frequent inspections and renewals of licenses were required. Cars using producer gas were less restricted.

At the principal ports German harbor masters controlled entrances and departures by issuing or withholding permits for navigation and the special permits required for restricted waters, such as the Salamis Strait. Naval patrols of small

boats were used about the coast of Greece and the various small islands to enforce compliance with the regulations governing navigation.

(4) Hunting and Fishing Licenses

The occupation authorities required special licenses for hunting both by civilians and by members of their own armed forces. Only professional fishermen using recognized fishing boats received permits, issued by the Greek police. These permits had to be renewed every six months, and were obtained only after submitting documentary evidence, checked by several authorities, of the applicant's and his crew's good faith. Permits limited the fishing areas minutely by latitude and longitude; such areas had to be at least six hundred meters from the coast.

b. General Restrictions

(1) Curfew

Curfews were imposed both as a precautionary and as a disciplinary measure. Variations between localities served to trip up the stranger. Special curfews were occasionally announced, as when the Germans wished certain movements to remain unobserved, or when a state of siege was declared, as in the Peloponnese in March 1944. At such time circulation was very strictly controlled; churches could be open only for a half hour on Sundays. Occasionally the curfew was relaxed for a day, as on Greek Independence Day or Easter.

(2) Blackouts

The German Garrison Commander in Athens was responsible for the air defense of the city. The regulations which he issued were based upon the Law on the Application of German Law and the Securing of Internal Order and the Military Occupation, of 17 June 1943, and the Government Paper on Occupied Greek Territories, No. 18, of 9 November 1943.

The regulations so issued rigidly controlled the movement of civilians. The Greek populace was extremely reluctant to comply with these regulations, and the newspapers of Athens constantly carried notices reminding their readers of the civilian air-defense measures that had been ordered and threatening punishment for failure to comply with them. The regulations were often enforced with great severity: those smoking or lighting matches in the streets were arrested and fined 20,000 to 50,000 drachmas in October 1943. Special regulations were issued for the ease of troop movements, popular demonstrations, or expected attacks.

(3) Forbidden Zones

The Axis occupation authorities established in Greece such forbidden zones as seemed to them necessary to protect their military installations, to safeguard their lines of communication, and to serve as a control of the movement of the population. In July 1943 the civilian population was forbidden to take photographs in a zone extending the entire length of the coast and within a width of three kilometers back from the sea. Taking photographs was also forbidden in the vicinity of all buildings and places used in any way for military purposes. Special prohibitions, with appropriate penalties, were announced for trespassing on areas planted with land mines.

c. Reprisals and Hostages

(1) Reprisals

Merciless reprisals were taken against whole villages as a means of ensuring the compliance of the civilian population. An early instance is the village of Kandanos, which was completely destroyed in the summer of 1941, a sign being erected on the site saying the town had been destroyed because it had resisted. Many other towns were totally or partially destroyed and larger or smaller proportions of their inhabitants summarily executed. The most notorious cases were those of Kalamata, Klisoura, Kalavryta, and Distomo; in the latter two places executions were remarkable for their scale and cruelty. The official report of

the Greek Red Cross for 1943, covering all of Greece, except Crete and the large islands near the Turkish coast, lists 67,676 houses burned with 343,761 persons left homeless. The number greatly increased during 1944, when the German drives, aided by the Security Battalions, were more ruthless and successful.

(2) Hostages

The announced policy of the Germans was that in cases of sabotage citizens would be "arrested without distinction and condemned as though responsible." "All arrested Greeks," it was said, "are considered as hostages by the German Army." Hundreds of reports from all parts of Greece recorded the arrest of hostages -- hundreds, and finally thousands at a time. The Germans were willing to regard Greek army officers as prisoners of war but were not thereby prevented from taking hostages among them. Frequently the Germans selected the most distinguished citizens as hostages in an effort to restrain the populace. Thus in July 1943 six generals and admirals were sent to Germany as hostages. On other occasions lawyers, doctors, and professors were singled out for arrest. When the airfield at Tatoi was sabotaged, at the end of 1942, the Germans asked Dr. Constantine Mermingas, as Mayor of Athens, to prepare a list of twelve leading Athenians to be held as hostages. He handed them a list shortly after the request had been made. His own name was at the head of it, the name of the puppet Premier Logothetopoulos was second, and the names of ten ministers of the collaborationist government completed it. On that day, 2 January 1943, Mermingas was dismissed by the Germans, and that night they announced that he had died of heart disease.

Justification for arrests and executions was often claimed by labeling the victims "communists." This was regularly the case when reprisals were for successful action of the andartes

(guerrillas), and German propaganda claimed that execution of "communists" was a just punishment for actions of "communist terrorist groups." "Communists" were executed in reprisal for the killing not only of German soldiers but also of Rallis troops; it is evident that by the spring of 1944 the quisling government was allowed to execute hostages in the German manner.

The announced policy of the Germans was to shoot fifty hostages for each German soldier killed, and ten to twenty-five for each one wounded. When those in prison were not enough to make up a required number (as at Patras in December 1943), motor cars toured the town to arrest people at random to serve as hostages. Waves of arrests also served to terrorize the people, to afford opportunity for "generous" gestures in releasing numbers at a time, and to suppress incipient excitement occasioned by crises in international affairs. More than 2,500 persons were arrested in Athens and Piraeus early in February 1943 as a preventive measure for agitation resulting from the Adana and Casablanca conferences.

During Holy Week of 1943 the Germans arrested in various localities about a hundred Greek priests, whom they considered one of the main factors in Greek resistance. In the middle of May 1944, after the escape from Greece of many leading politicians who went to attend the conference in Lebanon for the establishment of a government of Greek unity, the Germans arrested some of the important politicians who had remained in Athens. In August 1944, when it became apparent that the Germans must evacuate Greece, German SS troops and Greek Security Battalions closed off whole quarters and suburbs of Athens with troops armed with machine guns and tanks, and all males between fourteen and sixty years -- amounting to several thousands -- were arrested and taken to the concentration camp at Khaidari.

Some were later released, but great numbers were sent north, apparently to serve as forced labor in Germany or Austria; the break-down of the transportation system caused by sabotage, however, forced the Germans to bring whole trainloads of these hostages back to Athens. Many of these arrested Greeks who had reached Salonika were set free there.

E. CENSORSHIP, PROPAGANDA, AND EDUCATION

1. The Press

German censorship of the newspapers of Athens was established on 29 April 1941. At first censorship of Athens newspapers was supervised by the press attaché of the German Embassy. In 1942 the Germans set up a Military Press Bureau in Athens, whose director required editors to come to his office daily to receive instructions and articles. Certain publications were suppressed at once for having insulted German honor during the period of hostilities, and the others were told that they could publish only the dispatches of DNB and the Transocean News Service, which they would receive in the form of Greek bulletins issued by the "Athens Agency." They would also be obliged to publish signed and unsigned propaganda articles sent to them by the German Embassy. For their own use the Germans published a German language daily in Athens (Deutsche Nachrichten für Griechenland). The Foreign Language Service of the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin started a Greek monthly entitled Twentieth Century, but this was suspended after four issues. In the middle of 1943 a weekly called Hellas, managed by the Press Director of the Logothetopoulos and Rallis governments, was started with subventions by the Germans.

In Salonika the Germans closed down all the Greek and Jewish newspapers, and published in their stead the morning Nea Evropi and the evening Apoyevmatini. The Nea Evropi was particularly virulent in its anti-Semitism. Elsewhere in Greece newspapers legally published were supervised like those in Athens. News items were dated from Berlin, Stockholm, and the like, but seem to have been extracts from German newspapers in all cases.

The quisling government meanwhile brought back Greek censorship, employing officials who had served under Metaxas.

The Italians were more insistent than the Germans that items extolling Italian prowess and honor be published; an editor who omitted such material was jailed on a charge of sabotage, but was not permitted to suspend publication of his paper. In effect, Greek newspapers were thus subjected to triple censorship -- German, Italian, and Greek. Occasionally a newspaper would refuse an item derogatory to the resistance, or print a veiled allusion to Allied successes; but such rebellious spirits were quickly eliminated.

Under such conditions a number of publishers retired and turned their enterprises over to members of their staffs approved by the Germans. Others were permitted to suspend upon demonstration that they were unable to meet obligations. Some newspapers the Germans took over directly by acquiring a majority of the shares. Circulation of surviving papers fell sharply because of the meagerness of their news, their high prices, and the restrictions of newsprint, of which the Germans held a close monopoly. On the other hand the clandestine press flourished. In December 1943 it was estimated that 120 underground papers were published in Greece; it is probable that at one time or another 200 of these sheets appeared, though irregularly.

2. Radio

After the German occupation the quisling government granted the Telefunken Company exclusive rights to erect and operate broadcasting stations in Greece. On 17 September 1941 Telefunken organized the Griechische Rundfunkgesellschaft AG, with a capital of RM 500,000. This firm took over the existing Greek government station, which had been opened in 1938, and raised its power from 15 to 70 kw. The increase in power was far beyond requirements for Greece, and the station was used for transmissions to the Arab world. A new station was set up

in Salonika. The German Army also operated its own station in Athens, the Wehrmachtsender. All broadcasts were under direct control of the German propaganda authorities.

At first the Germans apparently made no move to confiscate radio sets, and indeed counted on their distribution for a projected propaganda campaign. There were penalties -- later, at least, very severe -- for listening to unauthorized broadcasts, and scarcity of current limited use of radios. Furthermore, at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943, burgeoning underground activity impelled the Germans to initiate systematic, country-wide confiscation of radio sets. An order published at Athens on 10 January 1943 decreed the death penalty for illegal possession of a radio. The order did not apply to the Athens area occupied by Italians.

In Mytilene, in February 1943, the local German propaganda officer found that the total confiscation of radios had let loose a flood of wild rumors, such as that the Russians were at the gates of Berlin, etc. He therefore permitted sets to be installed in two of the principal cafés. Neutral seamen who visited the Piraeus in March 1943 saw only one radio in the town. It was in a café and played music only. It is evident that a very few radios were permitted in some towns, but they could be operated only in public places, as in the Omonia Square in Athens where they could be easily controlled.

After the Italian surrender the Germans ordered (14 October 1943) all the radios in Athens which had not been confiscated to be sealed by German-supervised technicians so that the sets would receive only the Athens broadcasts. It is not clear whether the release of confiscated sets was permitted throughout Greece, but some must have been released, for in 1944 an order issued at Volos provided that radios must be adjusted so that they could receive only the Athens station.

The penalty for possession of a clandestine wireless transmitter was usually death, sometimes life imprisonment. Nevertheless such transmitters continued to operate throughout the period of occupation. A German radio-location company arrived in Athens in September 1942 to reinforce the existing service for locating secret transmitters. It is reported that in December 1942 the Germans had direction-finding cars patrolling the three main streets in the heart of Athens. The same report mentions three direction-finding stations around Athens. Radio-locating equipment was also placed on motorcycles which patrolled the streets of Athens and other cities in Greece.

A German monitoring station was installed on the summit of Mt. Parnes. This station followed the transmissions made by all clandestine transmitters and all other wireless communications in Greece and to Greece. Jamming stations to interfere with BBC and other foreign broadcasts were set up in Athens and Salonika.

A telephone censorship department was reported at Athens, but no details as to its methods were included in the report.

3. Music and the Theater

An order issued in Salonika in January 1943 required sellers of sheet music to bring all their music to the German censorship authorities to be censored and stamped before 15 February 1943; unlawful sale or playing in public of unstamped music was to be attended with heavy penalties. The Athens Radio announced on 14 January 1943 that German and Italian phonograph records were allowed but that all others must be surrendered to the authorities. This was denied by the Athens Radio on 29 January 1943 as a propaganda device of the British. Concerts of German music were frequently announced in the newspapers.

Theaters and motion pictures, especially in Athens, flourished during the period of occupation. At the beginning

of the occupation the Germans imposed restrictions and actually confiscated some theaters. Two motion picture theaters in Athens and one in Piraeus were reserved for German troops. In all cases the complete staffs of theaters were ordered to be retained without diminution of their wages. At one time the Germans appeared to be about to permit the showing of American films, but ultimately they refused, saying that German and Italian films would fill the needs. In 1944 the Germans introduced colored cartoon propaganda shorts in the style of Walt Disney pictures.

4. The Church

The only lawful body that served to mitigate the harshness of the occupation authorities was the Church, whose spokesman was the highly esteemed Archbishop Damaskinos. The Archbishop encouraged priests to disregard an order to preach anti-Semitism, and himself wrote an Independence Day message to be read in the churches on 25 March 1944. The Germans forbade the reading, and arrested many priests who persisted. The Archbishop declared that he was alone responsible. He was arrested in the late spring of 1944, and not released until September.

German propaganda, which equated resistance with communism and pointed to the consequent danger to the interests of the Church, affected many priests, particularly in the middle ranks. In June 1943 the Holy Synod of Mt. Athos issued a statement praising the German campaign against atheistic communism. On the other hand a number of the higher clergy and very many young priests favored the resistance. The Bishop of Kozani was an important figure in the central committee of PEEA, and the Bishop of Elis was outspokenly in favor of EAM; almost all the clergy of Evvia warmly espoused the EAM cause.

5. Education

The Greek educational system was profoundly affected by the mere fact of foreign occupation, and the occupation

authorities had little occasion to attempt to regulate it. The teaching of German and Italian (until capitulation made the requirement of Italian absurd) was made compulsory by decree, but the order seems to have been relatively ineffective, perhaps because sufficient qualified teachers were not available. Efforts seem to have been centered particularly on training a sufficient number of teachers of German for secondary schools. In July 1944 it was announced that 3,500 students had qualified in the preceding term at the special course in Salonika for teachers of German in Greece.

The universities of Athens and Salonika remained open under difficulties. Student demonstrations brought threats of closure to the former; at the latter the Germans helped to institute a faculty of medicine which was to pay special attention to tuberculosis and malaria.

In the spring of 1944 the Germans sponsored a series of lectures, given chiefly by professors of the University of Vienna, on economics, military science, history, art, and science. In January 1943 German archaeologists and members of a propaganda unit ceremoniously restored to the Athens Museum an archaic Greek statue which had disappeared in 1929. In February 1943 there was announced the projected formation of a German-Greek Research Institute for Biology in Athens by the Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft and the Greek Government. The Institute seems never to have been established, because of opposition of Greek scientists who resented German treatment of the medical facilities of the University of Athens.

F. THE TREATMENT OF JEWS

1. The Bulgarian and Italian Zones

In the first period of the Axis occupation in Greece, anti-Semitic measures comparable to those which had become customary elsewhere in Axis Europe were instituted only in the territories annexed by Bulgaria. Here those Jews who were able to work were required to remain on the spot and work either for the Germans or for the Bulgarians; all the rest were deported to Poland.

The Italians, on the contrary, took no measures against the Jews in the areas of Greece under their control.

2. The German Zone

During the first months of occupation the Germans did not take any special measures against the Jewish population. The racial laws were not put into effect, and in general the attitude toward Jews was neither more nor less favorable than toward their non-Jewish fellow citizens. At a later date, however, stringent anti-Semitic measures were instituted, at first in Salonika and later in Athens (after the Italian surrender) and other towns where Jewish communities existed.

a. Salonika

The first important measures against the Jews of Salonika were taken in the summer of 1942, when the Germans asked the Jewish Community for either a contribution in work or else the payment of a large sum by those who would not or could not work. In consideration of a payment of three billion drachmas the Germans exempted all Jews from compulsory labor. But in the spring of 1943 the Germans put into force for all Jews residing in Macedonia the same measures as for their coreligionists in other occupied countries: compulsory work for the able-bodied, and deportation for those who were unable to work.

At the end of February 1943 German SS troops arrived in Salonika for the purpose of carrying out mass deportation of Jews of Greek citizenship. Every Jew was given a form upon which he was ordered to write a complete inventory of his possessions, stating the value of all objects listed. The SS troops, however, paid no attention to these forms, but seized all property of Greek Jews, regardless of value.

The wholesale transfer of Greek Jews to the Salonika concentration camp began 2 March 1943 and continued for about a month and a half. The concentration camp was completely isolated from the rest of the city. To insure that there should be no communication between the inmates and the Jews who were still at large, a zone fifty meters wide was established around the camp. No Jew, whether Greek or of foreign citizenship, could enter this zone under any pretext whatsoever.

All Greek Jews in Salonika were taken to the camp, regardless of age, sex, or physical condition. Inmates of insane asylums and patients from hospitals, including incurable cases, and people suffering from infectious diseases were herded in with the others. All were confined for periods of varying length while they were being questioned regarding their property. In case satisfactory information was not immediately forthcoming, the persons questioned were subjected to various forms of torture. After this interval of examination, the Jews were sent off in cattle cars, almost without ventilation, seventy to a car. It was believed that their destination was Poland. Forty-five thousand Greek Jews, representing Salonika's entire Jewish population of Greek nationality at the time, were deported in this way. Jews of foreign nationality, numbering about one thousand, were sent to various countries according to their nationality.

b. Athens

Immediately following the Italian surrender in September 1943 the Germans took over the administration of Athens and the

other Italian-occupied parts of Greece and prepared to institute anti-Semitic measures similar to those applied in Salonika. Unsuccessful efforts were made to foment an anti-Semitic movement among the Greek population, and German propaganda sought to cast upon the Jews the responsibility for the misfortunes of the Greek people.

On 22 September 1943 the Grand Rabbi of Athens was summoned to the headquarters of the German police and informed that some slight measures were to be taken against the Jews, chiefly to isolate them from the rest of the population. This advance notice gave the Rabbi an opportunity to warn the Jewish community of the impending measures. The majority of the Jews of Athens, especially the Greek Jews, fled to the mountains to join the guerrillas, or hid themselves in Athens after providing themselves with false names and false identity cards.

An order requiring all Greek Jews in Athens to register within five days, on pain of being shot, and thereafter to report every second day to the Jewish Religious Center, was promulgated by the Germans on 3 October 1943. Foreign Jews were directed to register on 18 October. All Jews (i.e., all persons having at least three Jewish grandparents) were forbidden to be on the streets or in the squares between 5 p. m. and 7 a. m. The belief that Jews married to Greeks would be exempted from the provisions of this order is said to have led to three thousand "mixed" marriages within a short period of time.

During the five-day period specified in the German order only a few Jews, chiefly those who found no place of refuge, registered. The Germans therefore prolonged the registration period to 17 October, but some Jews were registered on 18 October without being penalized. The Germans gave each registrant a

white card without photograph,, bearing his name, address, and occupation together with a list of dates, indicating that the bearer should report every second day. Invalids were told to report every fourth day. Later reporting seems to have taken place every Friday. Jews married to Greeks received brown cards.

On 24 March 1944 the German SS began mass arrests of the Jews in Athens, in preparation for their deportation to Salonika and eventually to Central Europe.

c. Other Regions

Measures similar to those applied in Salonika and Athens were also invoked in other parts of Greece under German control. During March 1943 the German police conducted raids throughout German-occupied Greece, with the object of discovering Jews from Thrace and Macedonia who had taken refuge elsewhere in Greece to escape the measures already in force at Salonika. During the spring of 1943 the Jews of Evros province were collected and sent to Salonika. All the Jews of Alexandroupolis were seized and imprisoned; their wealth was confiscated. During 1944 similar steps were taken in Epirus (Arta, Preveza, Yannina), Crete (Canea), Volos, Patras, the Ionian Islands, and Corfu. All Jews were taken to Salonika and, after a short period in the concentration camp there, were started on the way to compulsory labor camps or to exile in Poland.

d. The Greek Quisling Government

The Greek quisling government refused to pass any legislation against the Jews or to take any part in anti-Semitic measures, and even presented a petition on their behalf to the German authorities. The Greek police also proved helpful and sympathetic to the Jews. On the other hand, the Government failed to take any concrete measures in their behalf. When the Archbishop of Athens appealed to the quisling Premier Rallis, asking that deportation of the Jews take place in the spring and not in mid-winter, he was told that the Greek Government could do nothing in this matter.

G. ECONOMIC CONTROLS

1. Finance and Banking

The quisling government was ordered to pay three and a half billion drachmas a month to Germany and Italy to cover the costs of the occupation, and it met this demand by issuing large quantities of paper money without proper backing. In addition the Germans and Italians immediately after the occupation set up banks of issue -- Reichskreditkassen, issuing Reichskreditkassenscheine to the German troops, and the Cassa Mediterranea di credito per la Grecia, which issued "Mediterranean drachmas" for circulation in Epirus and the Ionian and Aegean Islands. This "occupation currency" started a runaway inflation. The drachma deteriorated steadily from a pre-war value of approximately 110 drachmas to the dollar to quotations as high as 6,700,000,000 paper drachmas to the gold pound in September 1944.

The issue of both German and Italian "occupation currency" ceased in February 1942, when an agreement was made with the Bank of Greece to provide the army of occupation directly with drachmas. After the Italian surrender Greek currency was reintroduced in the Ionian Islands.

The occupying authorities exercised general supervision over the banking system in Greece. Because mounting inflation had impaired the Greek banking system, German penetration took the form of "friendly agreements" rather than active participation. In 1941 the Deutsche Bank concluded a friendly agreement with the National Bank of Greece, and the Commerzbank with the Commercial Bank of Greece. The Dresdner Bank is reported to have acquired a majority interest in the Bank of Athens, and with it (in cooperation with the National Bank of Greece and the Deutsche Bank) the Dresdner Bank founded the Deutsch-Griechische Finanzierungsgesellschaft to finance trade between Greece and Germany. The Italians

acquired a majority interest in the Banque Populaire d'Athènes, and several Italian banks set up branches on the mainland of Greece and on the Greek islands.

2. Agencies for Economic Exploitation and Control

a. The German Chamber of Commerce in Greece

In September 1942 the Greco-German Chamber of Commerce changed its name to the "German Chamber of Commerce in Greece."

The Chamber named buyers and agents for producers and exporters, indicated sources of supply to consumers and importers, chose competent and reliable business agents, and blacklisted unreliable buyers and agents in both Greece and Germany. It settled controversies between firms in the various countries, stood ready with interpretations of agreements, suggestions of compromise, or arbitrary decisions, and helped in the collection of bad debts. In cooperation with the Commercial Section of the Office of the German Plenipotentiary for Greece it was charged with considering the claims of all Germans and German firms arising from damages to their property caused by war action or by the occupying authorities on Greek territory; the Greek state was held responsible for payment of these damages. In April 1944 it expanded its activities by the opening of a branch office in Salonika.

b. DEGRIGES

Closely associated with the German Chamber of Commerce in Greece was the Deutsch-Griechische Warenausgleich-gesellschaft, (DEGRIGES), formed early in December 1942. The head office was in Berlin; the Athens branch was under the direction of Dr. Degener. DEGRIGES was formed by the Reich Group for Commerce, with its Trade Group for Wholesale and Foreign Trade, and by the Reich Group for Industry. Its task was to effect an equalization of prices between German

export goods for Greece and import articles of Greek origin, but without carrying out commercial transactions of its own. It was to direct the German export of goods for Greece, in agreement with the Greek Government, in such a way that Greek producers would obtain the necessary German goods for the Greek products intended for the Reich. Since the inflation of Greek currency had upset the normal purchase of commodities, it was the task of DEGRIGES to arrange for the barter of Greek exports.

c. Other Agencies

At Salonika a Greek Board of Supplies was established for the local distribution of Macedonian produce to the German forces stationed there and to prevent the unauthorized dispatch of such produce to the population of other parts of Greece by black-market dealers. It could confiscate raw materials and finished products necessary for the supplies of the country. It was also empowered to control distribution. Its director had the status of a prefect, and it had sections for supplies, finance, and imports. The Governor General of Macedonia was in control and was assisted by the Commander of Salonika and the Aegean.

The German Army also had an Economics Department, which requisitioned supplies needed by the German Army. A special detachment of the German Army Economic Unit, under the command of Kriegsverwaltungsrat Heine, had been working in Greece since April 1941. Its duties consisted of specifying the number of new installations and the work required in order to recondition mines damaged in the course of the Greek campaign and to speed up and extend mine production. The actual work of mining was done by a separate unit, the Technical Battalion, with headquarters in Salonika.

3. Requisitions and Confiscations

It was difficult to distinguish between requisitions,

confiscations, and plain thefts, and impossible to determine the extent of the alleged thefts of food, furniture, and other personal property. The initial intention of the Germans was to feed their forces of occupation from the country, and they requisitioned the stocks of Greek food already depleted by the Greco-Italian war. On 1 April 1942 the German general in command of Salonika and the Aegean issued an order for the registration of all cattle in excess of three head per family, all food, clothing, furniture, tools, raw materials, and goods of all kinds. Various agricultural products were requisitioned in various areas, and sometimes the Germans themselves harvested crops. Occasionally drives were undertaken for the specific purpose of gathering stores of food. In ordinary drives against andartes (guerrillas), food stores were confiscated and livestock driven off. The Greek clothing supply was too poor to attract the invaders, but clothing was requisitioned in Crete in 1942 and again in 1944.

The military requisitioned such houses and buildings as they required for their troops and administrative units. Such hospital facilities as suited their purposes were taken over, and schools and other public buildings were converted to serve as hospitals or barracks as occasion arose. Dwellings of Jews and of persons who had fled to Turkey were seized for lodging war victims, state employees, and others.

In addition to food, housing, and furniture the Germans requisitioned transport, machinery, and raw materials to whatever extent was required by the needs of the German armed forces and the war economy.

4. Food Supplies and the Black Market

Before the war Greece depended on imports for over a third of her wheat supplies, for all her sugar

requirements, and for quantities of dried vegetables, meat, and dairy produce. Axis occupation and the British blockade stopped imports of foodstuffs, fertilizers, and copper sulphate. The production of Greek agriculture itself fell. Fishing was restricted for naval reasons and because of danger from mines. The resultant food shortage was aggravated by difficulties in transport, by German and Italian requisitions, and by peasants' hoarding. Another important factor in the food shortage was the division of Greece by the Axis authorities into military regions with economic autonomy.

Athens and the surrounding region and the Aegean Islands suffered a ghastly famine in the winter of 1941-42. The pressure of world opinion forced the Axis to modify the policy of requisitioning foodstuffs from Greece and to allow the importation of food. The International Red Cross, represented by Swedish and Swiss delegates, was permitted to supervise the distribution of foodstuffs, supplied chiefly by the Allies but with some additions by the Axis. This relief saved Greece from further starvation.

In general the Red Cross managed a fair distribution in those parts of Greece where the Germans allowed relief supplies to be distributed. Very little was diverted from its proper use, although some Red Cross supplies occasionally appeared on the black market. The Germans, however, refused to allow distribution in regions held by guerrilla forces, and such regions suffered most from the food shortage.

The Germans and Italians imported some foodstuffs for the benefit of the Greeks, but the Greeks complained that the quantities advertised by press and radio included the requirements of their own troops and were vastly in excess of the amounts actually received by the Greeks in exchange for their exports of olive oil, tobacco, etc. The

German Government agreed that after 1942 there would be no food exports from Greece except of genuine surpluses, and that these would be compensated by equivalent imports of food. Total Allied and Axis relief, however, remained well below the estimated minimum food requirements of the Greek people.

The black market flourished as long as the Greek Government made any effort to control prices, and after the effort was abandoned in 1942 it was difficult to see how the free market differed from the previous black market. The Germans were frequently accused of having encouraged the black market and having participated in and profited from it. In some instances German soldiers are known to have supplied gasoline and other contraband articles to the black market. Various German officials, including Neubacher, were accused of profiting from stock market operations, especially from the sale of gold, through which the rate of exchange was manipulated by the Minister of Finance Tsironikos (the protégé of Neubacher); but no very definite proof and few specific details of these activities have been brought forth.

5. Axis Economic Penetration

A report dated 1 August 1944 stated that the Germans had acquired most of the shares of the industrial concerns whose factories they were operating, such as the munitions works, woolen mills, and chemical works. The Electric Company of Athens and Piraeus, the Transportation Company of Athens-Piraeus, and the companies whose capital belonged to citizens of Allied nations came under German direction. They acquired 51 percent of the shares of the two principal newspapers and of the merged agencies for distributing newspapers. Telefunken's control of the broadcasting monopoly has already been mentioned.

In November 1941 the Greek Ministry of Agriculture granted Südosteuropa, a German joint-stock company with offices in Athens and Salonika, exclusive rights to purchase the silk cocoon production of Greece. Orders to producers to sell their cocoons to authorized purchasers and at stipulated prices were issued by the German military command. At about the same time the Germans organized a textile enterprise at Ermoupolis.

In much the same way, German economic interests entrenched themselves in other branches of Greek industry -- mining, transportation, fuel, motion pictures, etc.

Famine and the loss of imports of raw materials and of supplies of fuel led to a great decline in the activity of Greek industry. As soon as the armies of occupation had settled down, however, Greek industry began to be used, wherever needed, to meet the conqueror's immediate needs at home and to supply the necessary spare parts and repairs for his damaged equipment. German supervisors and technical specialists were usually placed in such factories, especially in aircraft plants. No effort was made to supply the Greeks with needed products, such as food, clothing, and chemicals. On the contrary, machinery in factories that could have supplied only the Greeks was removed and replaced by imported machinery designed to maintain German war equipment. Factories which worked for the Germans were supplied with fuel or with electricity; those which did not work for the Germans were generally denied these, and thus could not function.

6. Labor

a. Introduction

To overcome the unwillingness of the Greeks to work for them the Germans made working conditions and wages in industries operating for them more attractive than in private

industries, which, furthermore, could not offer steady employment because of shortages of fuel and raw materials. With the failure, however, of voluntary recruitment of labor, particularly of skilled labor, the Germans resorted to compulsory labor.

b. Labor Conscription

Conscription of labor does not appear to have followed any uniform pattern in Greece as a whole, but was introduced in various places as early as 1942, the first efforts along these lines being in Thrace, Macedonia, and the Aegean Islands. The Bulgarians sent many Greeks and Jews from the areas which they occupied to Bulgaria for forced labor. Insistent and continuous demands for compulsory labor were made in Macedonia and especially in the Salonika area. In the fall of 1942 all male inhabitants of that area of the classes 1933 to 1942 were declared subject to labor conscription and forbidden to leave the area. In January 1944 these measures were extended to include Italian nationals in Greece.

In February 1943 the German authorities planned to introduce labor conscription in Greece for all inhabitants from sixteen to forty-five years of age. In accordance with the usual German practice of working through native authorities wherever possible, a decree to that effect is said to have been signed by Premier Logothetopoulos. Enforcement of the decree was prevented by Italian objections, Greek protests and strikes, and the intercession of the Archbishop.

In March 1943, however, a new decree ordered labor mobilization throughout Macedonia. All men between eighteen and forty-five were to be transferred for labor away from the area of their residence, and those over forty-five were to be employed on work in the area of their homes. All persons affected received notice from the Greek authorities to consider

themselves as mobilized on the spot and to be in readiness to leave at any moment.

After this period labor conscription was used mainly as a means of procuring laborers for work in Germany.

c. Recruitment of Labor for Germany

Uncoercive recruitment of Greek workers to be sent to Germany began in 1942. When the Greek Ministry of Labor failed to carry out a request to recruit such labor the Germans sent a representative of their own Ministry of Labor. He installed himself with his staff in the offices of the Ministry of Labor in Athens in April 1942 and opened branch offices in other Greek cities. Announcement by press, radio, and direct letter urged enrollment on attractive terms. By December 1942, however, only about ten thousand Greek workers had gone to Germany and recruiting was suspended.

In February 1943, recruiting was resumed, with special efforts to obtain specialists and technicians by pressure or promises of high pay. But by April the German recruiting offices were reported liquidated. In the same month two railroad cars of Greek workers, found unreliable and accused of sabotage, were returned to Greece. By 1 May 1943, about 1,200 workmen were overstaying their leave in Athens and Piraeus, and repeated drastic efforts were made, not always successfully, to force their return.

By July 1943 the Germans had turned to conscription as a means of filling their requirements for Greek labor. The able men of selected districts were loaded into trains and sent off to Germany. Because of his protests against these measures the quisling Minister of Labor, Grigorakis, was obliged to resign. The Minister of the Interior then took over the portfolio of Labor, and the first detachments of Greek workmen left Volos for Germany.

By the time of the German withdrawal from Greece in the autumn of 1944 it was estimated that the total number of Greek workers in Germany, recruited either voluntarily or under compulsion, was in the neighborhood of thirty thousand.

d. Strikes

Labor and living conditions deteriorated under German occupation, and living costs shot upward. Between October 1943 and July 1944 food prices in the free market are estimated to have increased roughly 1,700 times, while wages increased only 100-300 times. This situation, combined with increasing pressure for labor enrollment, resulted in a series of strikes and labor demonstrations which were brutally suppressed by the Germans and Italians.

The first general strike in Athens and partial strike in Piraeus took place in September 1942. Shortly afterwards Premier Tsolakoglou resigned. The second general strike in Athens and Piraeus took place in March 1943, directed against conscription of civilians for forced labor in Germany. The conscription of civilians was stopped, and Logothetopoulos shortly afterwards resigned. In June 1943, a third general strike in Athens and Piraeus, and great strike movements in Salonika, Larissa, Volos, Crete, and other towns, occurred as a protest against the shooting of hostages. On 24 July 1943 another great strike took place in Athens, Piraeus, and Salonika as a protest against the cession of further provinces to Bulgaria. During the week preceding the fall of Mussolini there were small strikes, and late in August 1943 there were strikes of coal miners at Kymi and of civil servants in Athens, all seeking an improvement of living conditions. Various lesser strikes took place from time to time. On 24 August 1944 a twenty-four-hour general strike of employees and laborers of public services, banks, and shops took place in Athens, in protest against the conscription and round-up of masses of

persons to be sent off to Germany. In a few instances the Germans met the demands of strikers for higher wages, but strikes for political reasons were generally met by bloodshed and ruthless suppression.

e. The Reichsarbeitsdienst and the Organisation Todt

Defense works and railroad construction in Greece were carried out by the Reichsarbeitsdienst and by the Organisation Todt. The Reichsarbeitsdienst was purely German. The staff was located at Salonika in July 1943, comprising one Generalarbeitsführer and several Oberstarbeitsführer. There were four groups of the Reichsarbeitsdienst employed, each group consisting of 1,000-1,200 men.

The Organisation Todt was a semi-military organization employing mainly Greek labor. Only the experts, engineers, and technicians were German. Some ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) were also employed. The Main Construction Control, at Belgrade, controlled the organization's activities in Southeastern Europe. It issued general plans to the District Construction Control in Salonika, which controlled the organization throughout Greece. The Control at Salonika made detailed plans and allocated the work to contractors. Contractors received a percentage of the expenses, including wages but not the cost of material and transport. Personnel of the Organisation Todt did only a very small part of the total manual labor, that is, the very secret work of strategical importance. Prisoners of war were used for heavy manual labor.

7. Transport and Communications

a. Railroads

The German occupying authorities concentrated their attention on the Greek State Railroads (SEK) but neglected the Piraeus-Athens-Peloponnese Railroad (SPAP), which they allowed to deteriorate.

In the spring of 1943 the German administration for the operation of the Greek railways consisted of the following hierarchy:

General Director of Southeast European Transportation, headquarters in Vienna;

Director of Southeast European Railways, headquarters in Belgrade;

Director of Transportation in Salonika, in charge of Greek State Railways (SEK);

a service in Salonika known as FBA 10, also concerned with Greek railways, the status and functions of which are unknown.

In the autumn of 1943 a special service was set up in Salonika to combat sabotage and safeguard German communications, in cooperation with similar services created in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The effectives of nearly a whole division were employed. This organization built watch-posts, some of which were regular blockhouses, along the Salonika-Athens line and along the most important roads. These posts were equipped with heavy machine guns and small mortars, together with food and munitions adequate for a long siege. The Germans planned to use these posts not only against the guerrillas but also against possible future Allied landing parties.

b. Roads and Road Transportation

As in the case of railroads, the Germans selected those roads which were of military importance and improved them to above 1941 standards. Such strategic roads were widened, properly surfaced, and provided with stronger bridges and with platforms at crossings. The less strategic roads were allowed to deteriorate or left to guerrilla control.

In addition to repairing and improving some of the existing roads, the Italians and Germans built a number of new roads, usually to serve as connecting links. In the building and maintenance of these roads the Germans used all

types of labor: disarmed Italian soldiers, Yugoslav and Russian prisoners, Jews, and Greeks, the latter being sometimes paid. The defense of these roads was entrusted to the special communications service mentioned above in connection with the railroads.

About the middle of 1942 a German transport service was established under the title Transportarbeitsgemeinschaft (TAG) which granted gasoline to a limited number of trucks for vital transport services. Branches of the TAG were set up in the principal cities of Greece for supplying gasoline to trucks in their respective areas. Trucks using gazogene were free of these restrictions, but not more than 150 trucks in all of Greece used this fuel because of mechanical difficulties.

c. Posts, Telegraph, and Telephones

Postal, telegraph, and telephone systems were, so far as possible, left alone by the German as well as the Italian occupation authorities. The telephone and telegraph services were always reserved for the use of the occupying forces, and were at the disposal of the population only when the authorities did not require them. During troop movements in 1942 the population in any area concerned was not allowed to use these services. Severe censorship of the mails so retarded service that letters sometimes took three months between Salonika and Athens. For a time senders of letters were required to appear in person with their identification cards at the post office. When an area became a scene of operations, as in the Peloponnese in May 1944, the civilian population was denied the use of postal, telegraph, and telephone systems.